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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

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VICTORY NUMBER

Kirby, in the New York World, January 11

ROLLIN KIRBY

Here Comes the Bride!

National Woman's Party

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Notes of the Week

Better Late

THE Democratic Party has made another move to catch up with the opportunities it has too long fought off—and placate the women of the country. Five days after the House had passed the amendment on a split Democratic vote the Democratic National Committee at a meeting in Washington took in a woman. True, the woman, Mrs. George Bass, now head of the Democratic woman's bureau, was only made chairman of an "advisory committee," which is to be made up of one woman from every state in the Union. But as the Democrats took care to point out the party under its rules can only extend itself, except by forming a sub-committee, at its national convention.

This committee will start work at once. "In cooperation with the national committee," says the press, "it will do its utmost to persuade women voters that their best interests lie with the Democratic Party. It will lay stress upon the influence of President Wilson as an argument for the support of women."

The meeting at which this new committee was created was called for the purpose of "dealing with the suffrage situation."

"The action of the Executive Committee," says the New York American," is expected to have great weight with the Democratic members of the Senate, as it has about the same effect as a platform declaration of the Party."

Meanwhile the Democrats seem to be in the position of counting their chickens a little before they are hatched.

The President Changes in Time

IT becomes more and more apparent that the passage of the federal amendment is absolutely necessary to save the President's face both at home and abroad. The President, via the Creel Bureau of Public Information, threw another vain sop to suffragists when Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse was appointed to go to Switzerland to get diplomatically before German women the war aims of the United States. The sending of a disfranchised American citizen to preach democracy to the women of Germany aroused amusement in many quarters.

One Boston paper in warning Mrs. Whitehouse of the delicacy of her mission said:

"Mrs. Whitehouse should understand thoroughly that she can do immeasurable harm to the cause if she permits herself any of the extravagances of *some suffragists* as to the lack of democracy in the United States. We trust she will steer clear of all suffrage propaganda in her new venture."

Warned by just such comments as to the untenable position of the government at this time, President Wilson has been converted to federal suffrage at the eleventh hour and will undoubtedly now support the suffrage bill in the Senate.

Occoquan Workhouse

THREE men probably owe their lives to the White House pickets—three prisoners in the District of Columbia who were charged with first degree murder for killing a guard in an attempted escape from Occoquan workhouse.

Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey, whose wife was among the first group of suffragists sentenced to Occoquan, saw a brief newspaper notice of the men who, charged with murder, offered as their only defense the unspeakably cruel conditions at the workhouse, which had driven them to desperation. Dudley Field Malone, of New York, investigated the case, and on his recommendation local counsel was retained.

No testimony was offered on behalf of the prisoners at their trial last week except their own stories of what they had endured at Mr. Whittaker's "model institution." The case against one man was dismissed, the second acquitted by the jury, and the third found guilty of "common assault." A juryman afterward said that if he had not admitted that he struck the blow which killed the guard, he, too, would have been acquitted.

Public interest in the workhouse conditions was first aroused through the stories of inhuman treatment told by the suffrage prisoners. These stories were all denied by the authorities.

Women's Labor Bureau

SECRETARY of Labor Wilson has created a women's division of the United States Department of Labor—the first government department created exclusively for women. The first step of the department is to organize employment bureaus in every branch. The New York City branch, in charge of Mrs. Hilda Muhlhauser Richards, is already started, registering women for all kinds of work.

Women whose husbands or sons are in military service will be given first consideration. Manufacturers of war products will be supplied by the bureau before other applications are filled.

"Equal pay for women doing men's work is being offered by most employers, and by most departments of the government," said Mrs. Richards. "The Ordnance Department sent us a call yesterday for ninety women for office work in the quartermaster's division, and they offered the same pay the men clerks were getting. We shall not allow the exploitation of women under the guise of patriotism. But neither shall we put women into positions for which men are available. There will be ample work for women to do, and we'll see that they will get it."

All questions of working women in relation to the war—questions of housing, vocational guidance, protection of women in industry and so on—will fall to this new department made necessary because women have been too long exploited in industry without the political tool this government is at last giving them.

English Victory Close

ON the day the United States House of Representatives took the first step toward national suffrage English women won a victory that will put suffrage into the hands of six million of them. The House of Lords rejected an amendment to the Representation of the People's Bill before it, to exclude women from this franchise reform program the government is putting through. The vote against this reactionary move was 134 to 69, after a debate of two days. The third reading of the bill has now to be gone through in the upper house. This will undoubtedly now pass without question. The King's assent is expected to be given this month.

"I am glad to offer congratulations to our American sisters," said Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, when she heard that the American Congress had moved for suffrage on January 10. "We rejoice in their success as much as in our own.

"Our first thought following the action of our own House of Lords in approving suffrage was our solemn responsibility on receiving the vote at a time when the country is endangered and so much is at stake."

Denmark, Russia, Canada, England—since the war started these countries have enfranchised women. It seems as though the country fighting Germany for democracy might hurry toward its democratic goal fast enough to put its name fifth on the list. If the House of Lords, last stand of British Toryism, can endorse suffrage decisively, the United States Senate can hardly refuse to pass the federal amendment.

Democratization for Lasting Peace

COUNT Karolyi, leader of the independent party in the Hungarian Parliament, approving President Wilson's views on peace terms, says that the conditions necessary for a lasting peace are renunciation of annexationist aims and *complete democratization of all the belligerent powers.* He says:

"The new scheme for electoral reform in Hungary, while it does not mean equal, universal and secret voting, yet brings with it a reasonable extension of the right to vote, and is therefore to be regarded as a step in the way toward that democratization which is necessary if a lasting peace is to be secured."

The new reform bill introduced into Parliament in December includes women with men for a limited franchise with educational qualifications. Hungary has shown itself lately one of the few countries that takes with complete seriousness the democracy for which the armies of the world are fighting.

The President Recommends Federal Suffrage

Representative Cantrill, of Kentucky, Interprets His Latest Change of Front to the House

(Speech in the House of Representatives)

IT was my privilege yesterday afternoon to be one of a committee of twelve to ask the President for advice and counsel on this important measure. (Prolonged laughter and jeers.) Mr. Speaker, in answer to the sentiment expressed by part of the House, I desire to say that at no time and upon no occasion am I ever ashamed to confer with Woodrow Wilson upon any important question (laughter and jeers) and that part of the House that has jeered that statement, before it adjourns today, will follow absolutely the advice which he gave this committee yesterday afternoon. (Laughter). At the conference with the President yesterday afternoon he wrote with his own hands the words which I now read to you, and each member of the committee was authorized by the President to give full publicity to the following:

THE committee found that the President had not felt at liberty to volunteer his advice to Members of Congress in this important matter, but when we sought his advice he very frankly and earnestly advised us to vote for the amendment as an act of right and justice to the women of the country and of the world.

To my Democratic brethren who have made these halls ring with their eloquence in their pleas to stand by the President I will say that now is your chance to stand by the President and vote for this amendment "as an act of right and justice to the women of the country and the world."

Do you wish to do that which is right and just toward the women of your country? If so, follow the President's advice and vote for this amendment. It will not do to follow the President in this great crisis in the world's history on those matters only which are popular in your own districts. The true test is to stand by him even though your own vote is unpopular at home. The acid test for a Member of Congress is for him to stand for right and justice even if misunderstood at home at first. In the end right and justice will prevail everywhere.

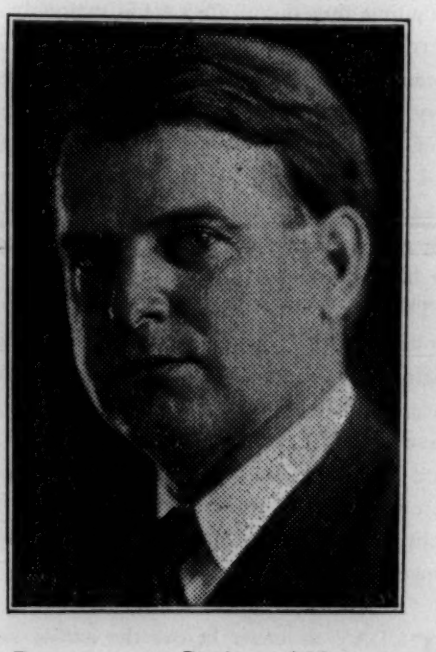
This terrible war has made it necessary for the Congress to do many things which it would not have considered for a moment before the declaration of war. No one thing connected with the war is of more importance at this time than meeting the reasonable demand of millions of patriotic and Christian women of the nation that the amendment for woman suffrage be submitted to the states. An affirmative vote today does not commit one to woman suffrage in the state in which one lives but it is simply a vote to permit your state to say through its legislature if your state favors woman suffrage. Eighteen states of the Union, with 184 electoral votes, have already given women presidential suffrage, and several other states, in addition recognize the right of women to vote in other matters. The question has reached such magnitude that it is deserving of being submitted to the states for final settlement. One of the chief arguments used by the opponents of woman suffrage is that women are unable to bear arms in war, but the fact stares us in the face that when the men who are bearing arms in France had a chance to vote on the question of woman suffrage they voted two to one in favor of the proposition.

An Answer to Mr. Heflin, of Alabama

Representative Decker, of Missouri, in House of Representatives

MR. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, I, too, like the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Heflin), who has just spoken, am a Democrat. And I am as proud of my democracy as he is of his. I am that kind of a Democrat who believes in state rights, who believes in the right of the state to exercise every right which by the Constitution has not been conferred upon the Federal Government. And one of the most important of state rights is that fundamental right of the three-quarters of the states of the American Union to amend that Constitution. (Applause.)

They talk of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, of Mr. Madison and of George Washington and those great statesmen from the South to whom we owe so much in this great land. Think you, my friends, that any of these men would ever have permitted the imperial state of Virginia to join in a union in which there could be no amendment to the fundamental constitution of that union? Mr. Jefferson had his views on suffrage and so did Mr. Madison and Mr. Washington, but they never stated in any place I have read that their opinions would not change in a hundred years if they were to live so long. In the great state of Virginia at the time these statesmen made the Constitution they had a property qualification for suffrage. Do you think if Thomas Jefferson were living today he would stand for that kind of a doctrine? In those good old days the women did not go to school like the boys; that is, they did not study mathematics; they did not learn how to weigh the stars or analyze the sun. They studied music and penmanship and dancing and the cultural things of life, but since those old days we have thrown wide the gates of higher education, and the women have entered in. This is not only a question, my friends from the South, of the right of women to vote. It is a greater question.



Representative Decker, of Missouri

It is the denial by a solemn resolution here of the right of men like you and me to limit the sphere of any human being that God has made. Who are you and who am I—yes, who was Thomas Jefferson, that he should say what is the proper sphere of the mother who gave me life?

THE gentleman from Alabama (Mr. Heflin) is always chivalric. No man can vie with him in his tributes to woman. He reminds me somewhat, however, of the man at the banquet in New York City. He and his friends had prospered during the year, and they indulged in a banquet, where they ate and drank until the small hours of the morning. Before the affair was closed one of the gentlemen rose and said:

"Mr. Toastmaster, as we sat here around this table spread with the good things of life, all we could eat and all we could drink, my heart went out to the poor people of New York City, the women who have not enough clothing, the children who have not shoes to wear nor books with which to go to school, and I move you, Mr. Toastmaster, that we now rise and give three cheers for the poor."

My first recollection of the gentleman from Alabama—and he is my personal friend, as you all know—was his resolution for the observance of mother's day in this country—a mother's day—and he pays the women tribute.

He tells us how wise they are, how they can help in time of war. The gentleman ought not to forget, however, what they are worth in time of peace. The gentleman is willing to pay them all of these tributes and all of these compliments, but, unfortunately, he is like the man at the banquet in New York. When it comes to giving them a vital thing—the ballot—he is willing to stand up and give three cheers for the women of the country.

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A World Dream of Democracy Realized

Jeannette Rankin Appeals to the United States House of Representatives, January 10, 1918

WE are facing today a question of political evolution. International circumstances have forced this question to an issue. Our country is in a state of war. The nation has had a terrible shock. The result has been a sudden change in our national consciousness. The things we have for years been taking for granted are suddenly assuming a new significance for us.

We as a Nation were born in a land of unparalleled resources, of vast acreage of fertile soil, of coal, oil, gas, of timber, and water power. The combinations in which these resources were found, together with our great natural highways, gave us opportunities for development which no other nation could boast. And we had people, people in whose veins ran the blood of all nations, people imbued with the buoyancy of youth, fearless, and with the will and energy to make their dreams of freedom come true.

Without restrain we drew upon the stored treasure of the past. We spent recklessly, and we wasted our natural resources and our human energy with youthful abandon.

AND then came the world war, and with its coming our carefree attitude was suddenly replaced by a new seriousness. Today we are mobilizing all our resources for the ideals of democracy. We are taking stock of our available energy. And we are finding that with all our past wastefulness we still have limitless resources upon which we can count. We have men—men for the army, for the navy, for the air; men for the industries, the mines, the fields; men for the government. And the national leaders are now reaching out and drawing men of talent, picking those with the best minds, with expert knowledge, and with broad perspective, to aid in war work.

But something is still lacking in the completeness of our national effort. With all our abundance of coal, with our great stretches of idle, fertile land, babies are dying from cold and hunger; soldiers have died for lack of a woolen shirt.

MIGHT it not be that the men who have spent their lives thinking in terms of commercial profit find it hard to adjust themselves to thinking in terms of human needs? Might it not be that a great force that has always been thinking in terms of human needs, and that always will think in terms of human needs, has not been mobilized? Is it not possible that the women of the country have something of value to give the nation at this time?

It would be strange indeed if the women of this country through all these years had not developed an intelligence, a feeling, a spiritual force peculiar to themselves, which they hold in readiness to give to the world. It would be strange if the influence of women through direct participation in the political struggles, through which all social and industrial development proceeds, would not lend a certain virility, a certain influx of new strength and understanding and sympathy and ability to the exhausting effort we are now making to meet the problem before us.

For 70 years the women leaders of this country have been asking the government to recognize this possibility. Every great woman who stands out in our history—Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Clara Barton, Mary Livermore, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Frances Willard, Lucy

Representative Rankin, of Montana

Stone, Jane Adams, Ella Flagg Young, Alice Stone Blackwell, Anna Howard Shaw, Mrs. Catt —all have asked the government to permit women to serve more effectively the national welfare. All have felt that the energy, the thought, and the suffering that was spent in trying to obtain permission to serve directly should as quickly as possible be turned to the actual service. And in the meantime they did all they could indirectly. They learned to read and to know each other. They became interested in each others' problems, for they found them to be their own problems. As they were the stabilizing influence in the home and kept the family unity, so they have become a great possible stabilizing influence in society, asking now to help keep the unity of the nation to its highest standard of service.

They have stood back of the men. They have pioneered with them, rejoiced with them over their successes, and, when they failed, encouraged them and helped them to begin again. The women have done all that they were allowed to do, all that the men planned for them to do. But through all their work they have pleaded for the political machinery which would enable them to do more.

TODAY as never before the nation needs its women—needs the work of their hands and their hearts and their minds. Their energy must be utilized in the most effective service they can give. Are we now going to refuse these women the opportunity to serve in the face of their plea—in the face of the nation's great need? Are you gentlemen representing the South, you who have struggled with your negro problem for half a century, going to retaliate, after 50 years, for the injustice you believe was done you so long ago? Have you not learned in your struggle for adjustment in the South to be broad and fair and open-minded in dealing with another franchise problem that concerns the whole nation?

The women of the South have stood by you through every trial. They have backed you in every struggle, and they gave themselves and all they held most dear for the cause for which their men laid down their lives. Now they are asking to help you again in a big, broad, national way. Are you going to deny them the equipment with which to help you effectively simply because the enfranchisement of a child race fifty years ago brought you a problem you were powerless to handle?

There are more white women of voting age in the South today than there are negro men and women together. Are you going to say to these thoughtful women: "After fifty years we have been unable to accomplish more than a temporary adjustment of our problem; and now we refuse to let you disturb us, even to help us?" Dare you say that in the face of our tremendous national crisis—in the face of problems too great to rest upon the old doctrine of our youth, but demanding the action of a nation united in spirit and using all its power?

These are heroic times and they call for the courage and the dignity to think and act in national terms. We thought in national terms when we restricted activities by the prohibition amendment a few weeks ago. Why can we not now think in national terms and extend opportunities? . . .

FOR we have had new visions; we have been aroused to a new way of looking at things.

Our President, with his wisdom and astuteness, has helped us to penetrate new problems, to analyze situations, to make fine distinctions. He startled us by urging us to distinguish between the German government and the German people. We who have been steeped in democratic ideals since the days when our forefathers signed the Declaration of Independence find it difficult to think of government as something separate from the people.

Yet, as we learn to make this distinction for Germany, will not our minds revert to our own situation and be puzzled? How can people in other countries who are trying to grasp our plan of democracy avoid stumbling over our logic when we deny the first steps in democracy to our women? May they not see a distinction between the government of the United States and the women of the United States?

Deep down in the hearts of the American people is living faith in democracy. Sometimes it is not expressed in the most effective way. Some-

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Congressional Pearls of the Suffrage Debate

A Last Stand for Woman

To confer on woman the right of suffrage is to lower her from her proud estate, and, as for me, I shall never consent that she shall be taken from the high pedestal which, since the dawn of civilization, she has so fittingly occupied with the common consent of all mankind.—*Clark, of Florida.*

Immortality for Parker

It will be recorded when the history of Jeffersonian-Jacksonian democracy, so soon to die, comes to be written that the first, although not the only, voice raised here today for the preservation of the right of the states of the federal union to control their own electorate was that of Mr. Parker of New Jersey, a Republican, who is, however, so thoroughly grounded in Americanism that he refuses to be stampeded by political exigency to commit the crime.—*Mr. Slayden, of Texas.*

Clark Overcome

In the hearings before the committee it will be found that one of the leaders among the suffragettes declared that they wanted the ballot for "protection," and when asked against whom she desired "protection" she promptly and frankly replied "men." My God, has it come to pass in America that the women of the land need to be protected from the men?—*Mr. Clark, of Florida.*

Exit the Uncrowned Queens

Today woman stands the uncrowned queen in the hearts of all right-thinking American men; to her as rightful sovereign we render the homage of protection, respect, and love, and may the guiding hand of an all-wise Providence stretch forth in this hour of peril to save her from a change of relation which must bring in its train discontent, sorrow, and pain.—*Mr. Clark, of Florida.*

A Lament for Old Things

The old ship of state has left her moorings and seems to be sailing on an unknown and uncharted sea. The government founded in the blood of our fathers is fading away. Last fall, a year ago, both parties recognized these principles in their platforms, and each candidate solemnly declared that he would abide by them if elected. But lo, all old things are passing away, and the lady from Montana has filed a bill asking that separate citizenship be granted to American women marrying foreigners.—*Walty, of Ohio.*

Another Reason

A little more than 400 years ago Columbus discovered America. Before that page of American history was written he was compelled to seek the advice and asistance of a woman. From that day until the present day the noble women of America have done their part in times of peace and times of war to make this grand country what it is today. For that reason I am in favor of this resolution, and I am in favor of granting suffrage to the women all over America.—*Mr. Elliott, of Indiana.*

On the Decay of Man

A nation will endure just so long as its men are virile. History, physiology, and psychology all show that giving woman equal political rights with men makes ultimately for the deterioration of manhood. It is therefore not only because I want our country to win this war but because I want our nation to possess the male virility necessary to guarantee its future existence that I am opposed to the pending amendment.—*Mr. Gray, of New Jersey.*

A New Program for Wilson

I have no criticism of the President coming out for woman suffrage. I am glad that he is standing with me on that proposition, and I hope that his conversion will be like that of St. Paul, and that he will become a master worker in the vineyards of the Lord for this proposition.—*Mr. Elliott, of Indiana.*

The House About to Blush

Every decent man, Republican or Democrat, who votes for this measure, ought to blush for his vote.—*Mr. Gordon, of Ohio.*

Democratic Disbelief

This is no party question, and such efforts will be futile. It almost equals in intelligence the scheme of that delectable and inane group of women who picketed the White House on the theory that the President could grant them the right to vote.—*Mr. Small, of North Carolina.*

Lady Macbeth and War

I will not debate the question as to whether in a time of war women are the best judges of policy. That great student of human nature, William Shakespeare, in the play of Macbeth makes Lady Macbeth eager for deeds of blood until they are committed and war is begun, and then just as eager that it may be stopped, while the man, as man should be, is slow to enter into a quarrel, but, being in, knows that he must so bear himself that his opponents may beware of him.—*Mr. Parker, of New Jersey.*

The Standpat

My judgment and my civic conscience constrain me to stand by the form of government under which for more than a century we have maintained liberty, promoted civilization, and become the acknowledged premier among all the republics of the world.—*Small, of North Carolina.*

God and Nature Blamed

If, after the war is over, woman is not free to have children, to establish and re-establish and maintain the home, without any thought of political equality with man, but with a firm reliance upon man as her God-given protector and champion, then you will have to confess that your civilization is a failure and that God and nature both have erred in their scheme of things. And that is another reason why I am opposed to the pending amendment.—*Mr. Gray, of New Jersey.*

Yes, He's an Anti

Woman, God's noblest creation, man's better counterpart, humanity's perennial hope, the world's object most to be admired and loved!—*Mr. Fess, of Ohio.*

Tribute from a Convert

A great Persian philosopher once said, "Dogs bark but the caravan moves on." I think it is time to stop the barking of the anti-suffrage dogs once for all. Democracy can not live, half free and half female.—*Mr. Gallivan, of Massachusetts.*

Can't Keep up With Wilson

I was amused at my friend from Oklahoma, Mr. Ferris, who wants us to stand with the President. God knows I want to stand with him. I am a Democrat, and I want to follow the leader of my party, and I am a pretty good lightning-change artist myself sometimes; but God knows I can not keep up with this performance.—*Mr. Clark, of Florida.*

A Defense of Political Expediency

I do not believe that the President should be so severely arraigned and criticized as he has been today for having yesterday afternoon by means of his self-arranged newspaper publicity, gotten aboard the band wagon of national woman suffrage by amendment to the Federal Constitution, which, so evident to him at that time, was being carried on to certain victory by an overwhelming majority of Republican votes.—*Mr. Morton, of New Jersey.*

Know Too Much

I happen to have a mother, as most of us have, and incidentally I think we all have fathers, although a father does not count for much any more. My mother has forgotten more political history than he ever knew, and she knows more about the American government and American political economy than he has ever shown symptoms of knowing, and for the good of mankind as well as the country she is opposed to women getting into politics.—*Gray, of New Jersey.*

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Reintroduced in the House December 18, 1917, by Representatives Rankin, Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

In the House all resolutions reintroduced on December 18 were referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Reported in the Senate

Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Reported in the House

By Judiciary Committee without recommendation December 15, 1917.

By Suffrage Committee with recommendation January 8, 1918.

Present Status

In the Senate

On the calendar awaiting a vote.

In the House

Passed January 10, 1918.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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Miss Anthony's Vindication

THE vote last Thursday in the House of Representatives was a complete vindication of the theory of party responsibility, by which the Democratic Party, as the party in power, was held responsible for the fortunes of the federal suffrage measure.

That the late victory for the women of the nation was brought about because the leader of the Democratic Party, the Democratic Party itself, saw "the handwriting on the banners" and looked ahead to 1918 and 1920, no politician doubts. With eight-ninths of the Republican vote in the House supporting federal suffrage, recognized as the possibly final blow to Democratic hopes in the elections just ahead, the President himself was forced to rally rebellious party adherents to the safeguarding of those Party hopes.

The theory of party responsibility, the inevitable outcome of government by party, was recognized by Susan B. Anthony and advocated explicitly by her in the very year of the first introduction of the federal suffrage measure, January, 1878, though she knew at the time that women, with scarce any voting leverage, could be but a "moral balance of power," not the political balance of power to which the President himself was finally forced to pay tribute.

On the historic day of the vote, January 10, 1917, many were the politicians who lauded the name of Susan B. Anthony. More than forty years before, with her petitions, she had been derided on these very floors of Congress. Last Thursday it was, instead, the enforced overnight change of the party in power, as advocated by the President's own mouthpiece, Mr. Cantrill, of Kentucky, that was derided. The theory that Susan B. Anthony lived and died believing was vindicated.

In the face of the final verbose tribute of politicians, her own words advocating the position now held by thousands of women, needs no comment. It speaks more clearly for her political foresight and singleness of purpose than comment could:

"I know many of our women are so much more intensely Republican or Democrat than they are 'Equal Rights for all,' that now, as in the past, they will hold the question of woman's enfranchisement in abeyance, while they give their money and their energies to secure the success of one or another of the contending parties, even though it wholly ignore their just claim to a voice in the government. It is not that I have no opinions or preferences on the many grave questions which distract and divide the parties; but it is that, in my judgment, the right of self-government for one-half the people is of far more vital consequence to the nation than any or all other questions. . . .

"If all the suffragists of all the states could see eye to eye on this point, and stand shoulder to shoulder against every party and politician not fully and unequivocally committed to equal rights for women, we would become at once a moral balance of power which could not fail to compel the party of highest intelligence to proclaim woman suffrage the chief plank of its platform. In union alone there is strength. Until that good day comes, I shall continue to invoke the party in power, and each party striving to get into power, to pledge itself to the emancipation of the enslaved half of our people."

A Victory Tribute from the Front

By Nathaniel Herbert

(A former newspaper editor and friend of the National Woman's Party, about to fight for democracy abroad, sends the following comment from an American camp on the passage of the federal suffrage amendment through the House)

IN its hour of achievement, after a struggle unparalleled in the annals of American politics, the National Woman's Party is entitled to a triumphant mood. Anyone who knows the National Woman's Party, however, knows better than to expect any outburst of unpolitical jubilation. The National Woman's Party has been and is a working organization, not a club; it has leaders, but no cheer-leaders. And it will be satisfied to keep on working until universal suffrage is not only effective but operative. A smaller-minded organization might turn backward and seek revenge upon the little enemies and the renegade friends who have impeded the advance of this last year of intense fighting. The National Woman's Party has no slogan but "forward."

When the history of the woman suffrage campaign in the United States is written, with its fiction-like chapters on the imprisonment and mistreatment of suffrage workers—the historian will not be able to keep the term "politics" out of his writing. At one time it was considered a splendid thing that there could be a suffrage campaign devoid of politics. But politics entered, and politics helped to win. Politics was the weapon of the resistants. It was adopted by the women. It was politics that won the suffrage campaign, as much as the courage and wit of the National Woman's Party representatives at Washington.

STATE by state women were voting and organizing to vote; they were therefore worthy of political respect. The National Woman's Party, by advertising that respect, forced its way to a position impregnable before the biggest policemen, the shrewdest of schemers—before the United States military uniform, even. Jail bars and committee-room doors yielded; the mind of the President, apparently closed against domestic problems of democracy, also opened to the clamor. And all of this was politics.

THE picketing of the National Woman's Party? Politics. The shyster tactics of smart lawyers employed by the government to break the picketing spirit? Politics, too. The organization of women voters to proportions interesting to the Republican Party? Politics unmistakably!

It was the picketing, more than any other one activity, that changed suffrage from a national subject to a national problem. There were women petitioning for attention, and there was the federal Constitution. Either element might be slighted for a time, but both together could not be eternally ignored. The national sense of decency, however enfeebled in war time, could not tolerate the punishment of innocent women indefinitely. The country could not bear having the pickets permanently imprisoned and the Administration could not bear having them permanently at large. Something had to happen. Something did.

Alice Paul and her co-workers knew their way and they kept to it. The physical suffering meant nothing to such minds, and if they could hold out against mistaken ex-friends who regarded the war as an invitation to abandon all democratic hopes; and against enemies who could not resist the opportunity to strike at a weakened foe, the work was done.

All the hundreds of sophomoric letters from tired business men; all the other hundreds from empty-headed women who had once favored suffrage for style's sake; these inundated the papers of the country. But the gold and purple fared forth into Lafayette Square; and government clerks were fought off; and tricky jail wardens were fooled; and the President changed his mind.

From January to January—a year, a year of incessant work, in jail and out. Pussy-foot editors, tanglefoot politicians were alike out-pussy-footed and out tangle-footed. Alice Paul starving in jail was bigger than the biggest enemy of the suffrage amendment, more powerful than the slipperiest friend or the bitterest rival.

THE story of Alice Paul will be written one day, and on that day there will be a hanging of heads among certain godly people who have dismissed her as a fanatic or cursed her as a public nuisance. In the meantime perhaps it is enough to say that one Alice Paul has kept a nation's ears full and a government's hands full.

The story of Alice Paul's victory will be a parable of democracy. The goal reached after traveling long ways, with few good Samaritans by the wayside; the ideal brought within reach after tortured striving in the dark—such a story is bound to be told, and in years to come the blatant tones which condemned Alice Paul's pickets will be forgotten and the glib public will occasionally refer to the fine sure way of American womanhood in attaining its just standing.

So—the New Year might be worse. Alice Paul might be more starved; the government might be more sternly autocratic; the country might be more apathetic and forgetful. But as it is, we are better able to withstand war and better able to understand it. And if we are obliged to face as great as Europe's sacrifices, we shall face them at least as a nation and not as an army only. For there is the promise that women and women's sons shall share and share alike.

Alice Paul

By Katherine Rolston Fisher

(Written at the time of the Inaugural Parade Deputation to the President when he refused to confer with suffragists in war time.)

I watched a river of women,
Rippling purple, white, and golden,
Stream toward the National Capitol.

Along its border,
Like a purple flower floating,
Moved a young woman, worn, wraithlike,
With eyes alight, keenly observing the marchers.
Out there on the curb, she looked so little, so lonely;
Few appeared even to see her;
No one saluted her.

Yet commander was she of the column, its leader;
She was the spring whence arose that irresistible river of women
Streaming steadily towards the National Capitol.

The Suffrage Outlook in the Senate

DATES FOR RE-ELECTION IN SENATE

1918	1920
Bankhead, Ala.	Beckham, Ky.
Borah, Idaho	Brandegee, Conn.
Colt, R. I.	Broussard, La.
Fall, N. Mex.	Chamberlain, Oreg.
Fernald, Me.	Cummins, Ia.
Goff, W. Va.	Curtis, Kans.
Hardwick, Ga.	Dillingham, Vt.
Hollis, N. H.	Fletcher, Fla.
Hughes, N. J.	Gallinger, N. H.
James, Ky.	Gore, Okla.
Kenyon, Ia.	Gronna, N. Dak.
Lewis, Ill.	Harding, Ohio
McNary, Oreg.	Henderson, Nev.
Martin, Va.	Johnson, Me.
Nelson, Minn.	Jones, Wash.
Norris, Nebr.	Kirby, Ark.
Owen, Okla.	Overman, No. Car.
Randell, La.	Penrose, Pa.
Robinson, Ark.	Phelan, Cal.
Saulsbury, Del.	Sherman, Ill.
Shafroth, Colo.	Smith, Ariz.
Sheppard, Tex.	Smith, So. Car.
Shields, Tenn.	Smith, Ga.
Simmons, No. Car.	Smith, Md.
Smith, Mich.	Smoot, Utah
Sterling, S. Dak.	Stone, Mo.
Thompson, Kans.	Thomas, Colo.
Tillman, So. Car.	Underwood, Ala.
Vardaman, Miss.	Watson, Ind.
Walsh, Mon.	Wadsworth, N. Y.
Warren, Wyo.	
Weeks, Mass.	

1923	
Ashurst, Ariz.	McCumber, N. Dak.
Calder, N. Y.	McKellar, Tenn.
Culberson, Tex.	McLean, Conn.
France, Md.	Myers, Mont.
Frelinghuysen, N. J.	New, Ind.
Gerry, R. I.	Page, Vt.
Hale, Me.	Pittman, Nev.
Hitchcock, Nebr.	Poindexter, Wash.
Johnson, Cal.	Pomerene, Ohio
Jones, N. Mex.	Reed, Mo.
Kellogg, Minn.	Sutherland, W. Va.
Kendrick, Wyo.	Swanson, Va.
King, Utah	Townsend, Mich.
Knox, Pa.	Trammell, Fla.
LaFollette, Wis.	Williams, Miss.
Lodge, Mass.	Wolcott, Del.

PRESIDENT Wilson's declaration in favor of national suffrage is already converting the Democratic members of the Senate—a fact that suffrage leaders feel promises a big majority when the vote is taken.

Senator Phelan, of California, who actually opposed the amendment a year ago, said this week to Miss Maud Younger, chief lobbyist of the National Woman's Party, "I was elected to carry out President Wilson's program, and now that he has spoken in favor of the amendment I will gladly give my vote for it."

Senators Sutherland and Goff, of West Virginia, have changed their positions from noncommittal to favorable in the last few days. They have promised their votes to Senator Curtis, of Kansas, who is leading the Republican side of the Senate fight for suffrage.

Senator Hollis, of New Hampshire, who made a vigorous effort to get a national suffrage plank in the Democratic platform at St. Louis, and who gave a letter before the vote in the House, urging the Democrats not to defeat the amendment, is looked to lead the Democratic suffrage forces in the Senate. No date will be decided upon for the Senate vote until Senator Hollis, who is at present away from Washington, returns.

MEANWHILE National Woman's Party speakers are starting out over the country to stir up sentiment in the districts of those senators who are still non-committal. Dudley Field Malone, of New York, has promised to help by talking at suffrage mass meetings throughout the country.

Leaders of the National Woman's Party are basing claims of certain victory in the Senate largely on the fact that the party rivalry which came to the fore in the House will inevitably recur in the Senate. They point out that the Republican enthusiasm for the enfranchisement of women exceeds the Democratic support of the measure in the Senate exactly as it did in the House.

TWENTY states are pledged solidly for suffrage: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Washington, West Virginia, Wyoming and Nevada.

Seven of the twenty-three states that did give a unanimous vote in the House are not yet pledged to give the votes of both senators, but the expectation is that they will not spoil their reputation made on the House vote by dividing the final test. In six of the states, Nebraska, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Minnesota, Utah, and Maine, one senator is pledged. In the seventh, Idaho, the death of Senator Brady has just cost suffrage a vote. Senators Borah, of Idaho, and King, of Utah, are the only senators from a suffrage state who have not yet agreed to use their vote to secure national enfranchisement for the women of Idaho and of all the other states.

SENATOR Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, came out publicly in favor of the amendment this week in a letter to a member of the New Jersey Suffrage Association. The Senator stated that "the time has come when the nation should take action on this important question."

THE inroad into the South which the House vote showed suffrage has made in the last three years is emphasized by the line up in the Senate. Senators from eight Southern states have declared in favor of the federal amendment, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, Maryland, West Virginia and Arkansas. The Southern vote in the House was just double this time what it was at the vote in 1915. Senator Phelan's statement that he will vote for the amendment because of President Wilson's endorsement suffragists believe is only the forerunner of many changes that will be made for the same reason.

IN predicting the final result, Alice Paul, National Chairman of the Woman's Party, said: "If the Republicans had the vision to see that it was a wise party policy to secure the credit for the passage of the amendment in the House, and the Democrats believed it an unwise party policy to be responsible for its defeat—the same arguments must hold for the vote in the Senate, for while more than two-thirds of the Republicans have already promised their votes, only half the Democrats are at present pledged in the Senate. The Democrats are, however, being guided by President Wilson's endorsement. With the same vigorous Republican support that we received in the House, there is no question as to the passage of the amendment and its submission to the states. Just before the vote in the House the Republicans caucused in favor of suffrage for the first time in the political history of any party. In addition to this, Republican Leader Mann, who has been ill in Johns Hopkins Hospital, for some time, came to the Capitol at great personal cost to take part in the fight. The Republican strength is even greater in the Senate than it is in the House."

On the House side of Congress, nothing but pleasure is now expressed at the outcome of Thursday's vote. One member said to a suffragist, "Well, I am glad your amendment got through without my having to vote for it," which the suffragist interpreted, "My party gets the credit, and I don't get the blame."

VOTE OF THE SENATE MARCH 19, 1914

FOR	AGAINST
Ashurst, Ariz.	Bankhead, Ala.
Chamberlain, Oreg.	Borah, Idaho
Gallinger, N. H.	Brandegee, Conn.
Gronna, N. Dak.	Dillingham, Vt.
Hollis, N. H.	Gore, Okla.
Hughes, N. J.	James, Ky.
Jones, Wash.	Johnson, Me.
Kenyon, Ia.	Lodge, Mass.
LaFollette, Wisc.	McCumber, N. Dak.
Myers, Mon.	McLean, Conn.
Nelson, Minn.	Martin, Va.
Norris, Nebr.	Overman, No. Car.
Owen, Okla.	Page, Vt.
Poindexter, Wash.	Pittman, Nev.
Ransdell, La.	Pomerene, O.
Shafroth, Colo.	Reed, Mo.
Sheppard, Tex.	Shields, Tenn.
Sherman, Ill.	Smith, Ga.
Smoot, Utah	Smith, Md.
Sterling, S. Dak.	Smith, So. Car.
Thomas, Colo.	Swanson, Va.
Thompson, Kans.	Tillman, So. Car.
Townsend, Mich.	Vardaman, Miss
	Weeks, Mass.
	Williams, Miss.

PAIRED

FOR	AGAINST
Cummins, Ia.	Fall, N. Mex.
Lewis, Ill.	Fletcher, Fla.
Penrose, Pa.	Robinson, Ark.
Smith, Ariz.	Simmons, No. Car.
Smith, Mich.	
Walsh, Mon.	
Warren, Wyo.	

ABSENT, UNPAIRED

Colt, R. I., no statement
Culberson, Tex., no statement
Goff, W. Va., no statement
Hitchcock, Nebr., no statement
Saulsbury, Del., if present, nay
Stone, Mo., paired no with Clarke, who voted by mistake

Massachusetts Leads in Final Demand for Federal Suffrage

ONE of the most dramatic and stirring of the many meetings held just before the vote was taken in the House demanding action from the state delegation on the amendment, was held, fittingly enough, in Faneuil Hall, Boston. The "cradle of American liberty," in which met the pre-revolutionary mass meetings; which has heard every President of the United States, and in which another group of revolutionists, the Abolitionists, made their pleas for another subject group, at last heard the released prisoners of the National Woman's Party, the women who had gone to jail for their belief in the right of petition that their forefathers had upheld in the same spot.

It was the first picket meeting held in Boston, the first meeting in which a considerable group of the women who had served on the suffrage battlefield in Washington, in their own state, in the heart of New England, dramatized anew the real meaning of liberty. On the stage from which Wendell Phillips had escaped from the mob down that still-preserved winding staircase sat the Massachusetts picket prisoners and speakers—not one woman in the group but had served a prison term for her belief in the liberty of the women of this nation.

The group was cheered as they took their places. The speakers were Mabel Vernon, of Delaware; Lucy Burns, of New York; Vida Milholland, of New York; J. A. H. Hopkins, of Massachusetts, and, as chairman, Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, of Brookline, Massachusetts, vice-chairman of the National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party. The other pickets were: Mrs. Margaret Mayo, of Framington; Miss Camilla Whitcomb, of Worcester; Miss Ethel Findeisen, of Lawrence; Miss Elizabeth Hamilton, of Brookline; Miss Katherine Morey, of Brookline; Miss Janet Fotheringham, of Cambridge; Miss L. J. C. Daniels, of Vermont; and Miss Iris Calderhead, of Kansas.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Massachusetts Branch, with Miss Olive Mills Belcher as state chairman.

THE beautiful Colonial Hall with its gray walls and white fluted pillars, its dim historic paintings of the old fighters for liberty, was unmarred by decoration of any sort save the American colors draped over the speaker's stand and the purple white and gold picket banners of the Woman's Party flanking it on each side. Paintings of Peter Faneuil and John Hancock on the one side; Washington and Jefferson on the other, looked down on these women who had themselves organized a small Revolution to bring about another move toward complete democracy.

Mabel Vernon reviewed the whole history of the last year's battle for the federal amendment and the steps which led up to it, carrying her audience with her from step to step. The reading of the famous Russian banner drew forth cheers and applause from galleries and floor.

Mrs. Edwin Hunter
Iowa State Chairman

J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey, a former resident of the state, asked the state that had fathered the great libertarian movements of this country to go on record once more for this latest progressive demand.

He dwelt on the great part Massachusetts had played in reform movements, and contrasted this dauntless past with the attitude of certain representatives. The views of the President on picketing and the right to picket were listened to with keenest interest.

Many in the large audience wept when Mrs. Morey told of that last suffrage chapter in a Government prison, in introducing Lucy Burns. Miss Burns predicted victory for the amendment, unmistakably indicated by Representative Cantrill's eleventh hour conversion which indicated the latest change in the mind of the Chief Executive.

The delightful singing of Vida Milholland of New York, repeating the ballads she had sung in prison, was one of the remembered episodes of the evening. When to the strains of the Marseillaise she sang Hazel Mac Kaye's Woman's Hymn, the great audience from floor to gallery rose to its feet and joined in the chorus.

GEORGE Grover Mills, of Boston, called for the adoption of resolutions calling for action on the part of the President and of the Massachusetts delegation for the federal amendment, "at a time when the government is calling upon the women of the nation for their indispensible services in bearing the burdens of war." The resolution demanded that House and Senate "establish at home the democracy for which the men of the nation have been called to fight abroad." These resolutions were adopted unanimously by the large audience.

THE Massachusetts meeting was but one of the final suffrage rallies in New England that appealed for liberal action in the House. During the last week before the vote Miss Vernon spoke in New York, Massachusetts, Maine and Rhode Island. In Providence, Rhode Island, the story of the White House picket was told by Mrs. M. Toscan Bennet, of Connecticut, at a large meeting at Churchill House, which Miss Vernon and Miss Mildred Glines helped to organize. Miss Glines, state chairman, introduced the speakers. Many organizations were represented, including the Consumer's League, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Edgewood and Elmwood Woman's Clubs and local suffrage organizations. A state conference followed the meeting for the election of additional state officers and the planning of work following the vote in the House.

IN spite of the strenuous weather of the middle west which tied up the train service completely for many days, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker was able to keep the Illinois and Iowa schedules for meetings, speaking in Des Moines and Sioux City to enthusiastic audiences. In Des Moines Mr. Harvey J. Ingham, editor of the Register and Leader, presided at a meeting, held at Sherman Hoyt Place, and followed by an organizing conference. Mrs. Edwin Hunter, who was elected state chairman, has already begun the district organization of Iowa, with Mrs. Gertrude Milner as chairman of the Seventh District.

Mrs. Baker spoke in Chicago at Kimball Hall with Miss Margaret Whittemore, of Detroit, presenting prison pins to the Illinois pickets; and at the Cordon Club, where she was introduced by Miss Ella Abeel, state chairman of Illinois, and interested a valuable new group in the policies of the National Woman's Party.

Though Mrs. Baker was forced through delayed trains to cancel her engagements in Ohio, the day in which she tried so strenuously to reach Dayton was not lost. News that a White House picket was on the train spread quickly, and from all cars came passengers eager to look upon an actual prisoner for suffrage. Mrs. Baker held a miniature mass meeting on the train, speaking from the aisle to English and Canadian aviators, soldiers and officers bound for the front, and to American business men and ministers of the gospel. When she finally left the train a crowd of the audience came to the platform to wish the federal suffrage amendment speaker godspeed. A group of trainmen joined the group, begging for another speech. The latter waved a final salute with their torches and gave three cheers. Mrs. Baker says she felt then that the country was behind federal suffrage and that the passage of the bill was assured.

Pickets in the House of Representatives Debate

Flag of the True Democracy

BETSY Ross still lives; her name is legion. In the field, on the farm, in the shops, in the hospitals, and in the homes they are making fast forever the stars which Betsy Ross first sewed in our flag. Betsy Ross of today works patiently, saves, sews, and knits. In all these activities this wonderful American woman, without threats or violence, some bearing the picket's banner and some with the knitting needles, all are weaving into the web and woof of our flag the colors of the new democracy, where everyone shall be equal before long.—*Mr. Mason, of Illinois (favorable).*

The Verdict

THIS attitude on the part of some of the suffrage members of this House is on an exact equality with the acts of these women militants who have spent the last summer and fall, while they were not in the District jail or workhouse, in coaxing, teasing, and nagging the President of the United States for the purpose of inducing him by coercion to club Congress into adopting this joint resolution. [Cries from Republican members, "They got him!"]—*Gordon, of Ohio (opposed).*

Confession

WHEN in passing up and down the Avenue I frequently witnessed cultured, intellectual women arrested and dragged off to prison because of their method of giving publicity to what they believed to be the truth I will confess that the question sometimes arose in my mind whether when the impartial history of this great struggle has been written their names may not be placed upon the roll of martyrs to the cause to which they were consecrating their lives in the manner that they deemed most effective."—*Langley, of Kentucky (favorable).*

A World-Dream of Democracy Realized

Concluded from Page 6

times it seems almost forgotten. But when the test comes we find it still there, groping and aspiring, and helping men and women to understand each other and their common need. It is our national religion, and it prompts in us the desire for that measure of justice which is based on equal opportunity, equal protection, equal freedom for all. In our hearts we know that this desire can be realized only when "those who submit to authority have a voice in their own government," whether that government be political, industrial, or social.

TODAY there are men and women in every field of endeavor who are bending all their energies toward a realization of this dream of universal justice. They believe that we are waging a war for democracy. The farmer who knows the elements of democracy becomes something of an idealist when he contemplates the possibility of feeding the world during this crisis. The woman who knits all day to keep from thinking of the sacrifice she is making wonders what this democracy is which she is denied and for which she is asked to give. The miner is dreaming his dreams of industrial democracy as he goes about 2,000 feet underground, bringing forth from the rock precious metals to help in the prosecution of this war.

The girl who works in the Treasury no longer works until she is married. She knows now that she will work on and on and on. The war has taken from her opportunities for the joys that young girls look forward to. Cheerfully and willingly she makes her sacrifice. And she will pay to the very end in order that the future need not find women paying again for the same cause.

The boys at the front know something of the democracy for which they are fighting. These courageous lads who are paying with their lives testified to the sincerity of their fight when they sent home their ballots in the New York election, and voted two to one in favor of woman suffrage and democracy at home.

THESE are the people of the nation. These are the fiber and sinew of war—the mother, the farmer, the miner, the industrial worker, the soldier. These are the people who are giving their all for the cause of democracy. These are the people who are resting their faith in the Congress of the United States because they believe that Congress knows what democracy means. These people will not fight in vain.

Can we afford to allow these man and women to doubt for a single instant the sincerity of our protestations of democracy? How shall we answer their challenge, gentlemen; how shall we explain to them the meaning of democracy if the same Congress that voted for war to make the world safe for democracy refuses to give this small measure of democracy to the women of our country?

An Answer to Mr Heflin, of Alabama

Concluded from Page 5

MR. Speaker, I stand for something higher. My lot in life may not have been cast along the pleasant lines of that of the gentleman from Alabama. I loved my mother as much as he loved his, but I have not forgotten the pioneer days—how my mother, with my dear father, who has passed away, crossed the prairie, as "of old our fathers crossed the sea, to make the West, as they the East, the homestead of the free." It was my mother who heard the coyotes howl upon the plains; it was my mother who, when the hot winds blew and the grasshoppers came, said "No, Jim, we will not go back to Ohio; we will stick it out." My mother always did her part not only in time of war but also in time of peace. Some gentlemen seem to think that women's sacrifice in time of war is the great reason women should have the right to vote. In time of war I dare to stand in the Halls of Congress and give you a higher reason why women should have a right to vote. It is this. Women suffer the agonies of hell in time of war, and I demand that women shall have an equal right with men to say when war shall come.

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Comments of the Press

Did They Put Back Suffrage Fifty Years?

THE resolution proposing a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage is scheduled to come up for vote in the House today. After all these years of propaganda, picketing and incarceration, the suffrage forces will go "over the top" in their great drive for liberty. A count of noses preceding this charge indicates that it will be successful, so far as submitting the proposition to the states is concerned. Presumably President Wilson's support of the amendment will turn many votes in its favor.

The New York delegation is in line almost to a man. These representatives have seen the light since suffrage won in their state last fall, adding a few millions of women voters to the registry lists. Pennsylvania, where suffrage was defeated but a few years ago discerns the shadows cast by coming events, and a majority of that delegation have declared in favor of the amendment. Other large states and many of the smaller ones have lined up under the suffrage banner, so that the leaders feel very confident of being able to muster the requisite two-thirds majority in the House.

Here upon the eve of battle the militants of the cause may pause and wonder whether the chilblains they suffered through standing picket duty at the White House gates in the winter days were in vain; whether the police raids they endured, the fines they paid, the workhouse sentences they served were all for naught. Surely the meals they inhaled at the District jail, under the forced feeding of the official hunger-strike breakers, must have won support for the cause. Well, tomorrow will tell.—*Washington Post, January 10.*

From the Washington Herald, January 10

[SH-H-H!

Suffrage as a War Measure

THE passage of the suffrage amendment by the House, amid stirring scenes of tribute to the women who have fought so long and hard for the ballot, is a signpost of real national progress. It registers the first national advance won by democracy in America as a consequence of the war.

It is the fruition of long effort, of prolonged sacrifice and labor by a distinguished line of devoted women. Yet we should be blind to the forces of the crowded hours in which we live did we not perceive that it is to the ferment of a world war, to the revaluation of men and women, of their abilities, their courage, their worth as plain individuals, that this vast change is now due. The stress and strain of a few extraordinary years have demonstrated facts to the undoing of prejudices based on generations of tradition and habit.

The achievement of a two-thirds vote in the House seems a miracle in view of the opposition which heretofore existed. To a great extent it represents a genuine reversal of judgment—the same reversal of judgment which carried this state for suffrage last November. To a lesser extent it is a simple acceptance of the fact that the nation's decision has been made. Suffrage was unquestionably coming. Every political party supported it. At the last Presidential election every candidate for president was an avowed suffragist. The only question remaining was how soon the nation as a nation would act.

The House has now spoken. We hope that the Senate will show an equal spirit of progress and foresight. The nation needs the courage and wisdom of its women as never before. May we enter upon the crucial years ahead with the full strength of our women pressing forward shoulder to shoulder with our men!—*New York Tribune, January 11.*

They Lie Down Together

UP in the East Gallery, ranged along the Speaker's bench, which Speaker Clark had set aside for their use, were many of the generals and colonels and captains and lieutenants of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association. There was Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, the honorary president, and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, the president of the organization; Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman of the association's Congressinal Committee; Mrs. Helen N. Gardiner, the vice-president, and many others.

In the South Gallery, just to the right of the press gallery, sat many of the militant pickets and other members of the National Woman's Party. Miss Alice Paul, who has served in all of the available jails in Washington for picketing the White House, chairman of the National Woman's Party, sat among her companions for a short time and then hustled back to her office to work on ways and means for getting the amendment in the Senate.

Mrs. John Winters Brannan, of New York, another of the Pickets; Mrs. John Rogers, Jr. of New York; Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey; Mary Nolan, of Florida, the seventy-year-old picket; and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, also of the picket line and Occoquan Workhouse and the District jail, remained for the entire session, as did also Mrs. William Kent, wife of Representative Kent, of California.

Miss Doris Stevens, Miss Beulah Amidon, Mrs. F. B. Boeckel, and some of the younger members of the National Woman's Party, occupied standees in the corridor for a while, and then returned to their headquarters to work. In still another

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part of the gallery was Miss Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Ogden Reid, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw and Mrs. Rosalee Loew Whitney.

And from a super-gallery, in some sort of royal box, as it were, one could, in fancy's eye, see sitting there Susan B. Anthony and Harriet Beecher Stowe and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and George William Curtis and Edward Everett and Wendell Phillips and all the long line of men and women who lived and labored for the cause of woman suffrage.—*J. A. Seavy, New York Tribune, January 11, 1918.*

Some of Them Insisted

WITH politicians of both parties falling over one another in their eagerness to "get on the bandwagon," the resolution providing for submission to the states of a female suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States received 274 votes in the House of Representatives yesterday and was declared adopted. . . .

Of immediate interest are the probable effects of the action taken and consideration of the influence which brought it about.

Undoubtedly one of those influences was President Wilson's eleventh hour surrender. It is unfortunate that the President has not given in his own words the reasons for his abandonment of the traditional democratic doctrine that regulation of the suffrage should remain in the hands of the states, each to act in accordance with the expressed will of its people. In the absence of other explanation, the only possible conclusion is that the President's about-face was dictated by political expediency. That is the admission contained in the assertions of those who have undertaken to speak for him. Summarized, they represent the President as arguing:—The country is at war; the women of the country are loyal and patriotic; some of them insist that the question of suffrage be taken from the states and engrafted upon the Constitution; therefore, it should be done. Translated into the language of politics, what else is there to it all except, "The women of some of the states now have votes; the congressional election come this year; if you Democratic members of the House want a look-in at election time you had better get on the bandwagon." Those are not the President's words, but can it be doubted that they clearly express his meaning?—*New York Herald, January 11.*

Intrepid Women Versus President

THE able and intrepid women who are trying to secure the ballot for their sisters in all the states by means of a federal amendment have at last succeeded in convincing President Wilson that such is the right route for the suffrage movement, and that he has been mistaken in insisting upon its confinement to separate action by the states.

We congratulate the ladies upon their notable victory. The readiest explanation is that it has been won by the astute but perfectly legitimate employment of what may be termed the political dilemma; that is, by stimulating the President's proper concern for the safety of the Democratic vote by exhibitions of interest in the Republican camp.—*New York Sun, January 11.*

An Incidental Note

IT may be worth noting that at the very time Congress was voting on the federal amendment providing for woman suffrage, and passing it by the meager fraction of one vote, another and apparently much more progressive body in a distant land was engaged also with the question of suffrage. A motion had been made before it to reject suffrage for women and it was voted down by a majority of nearly two to one; to be exact, 134 to 69.

And this, too, though one of the most influential members got up and solemnly warned his associates that "wherever women had been granted the vote a stimulus had always been given to Socialism." But they rejected the proposal despite his warning. Women are to have the vote, they said.

Now, where was this, and what was this body? Not to keep you further in suspense, the place was London, and the body was that thoroughly progressive and up-to-date assemblage known as the House of Lords. These aristocratic chaps have really come along at remarkable speed lately, whatever is the reason.

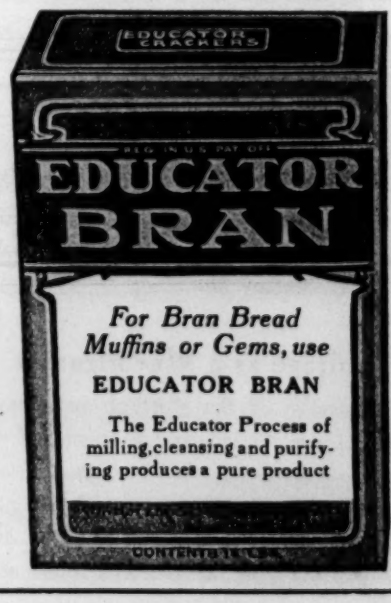
And, incidentally, the peer who warned them was none other than Lord Curzon. Don't know just why he did it, unless he remembered that he had once married an American woman (now deceased) and had the idea that American women didn't want the vote, or considered that Congress was a tougher place to extract it from than the emotional and chivalrous British House of Lords, as the difference in the vote would really seem to indicate. However, suffrage won in both places, and "the world do move."—*New York Call, January 12.*

Truest Tribute

THE House of Representatives passed yesterday by exactly the necessary two-thirds vote of 274 to 136 the joint resolution for the submission of the woman suffrage amendment to the legislatures of the several states. The feminist leaders, working on the fears and hopes of representatives, their self-interest and that of their parties, have displayed a shrewdness and dexterity worthy of the most experienced managers and manipulators.

The amendment came up in happy time for them. The present House is almost equally divided. In the Congress elections next fall no chance of losing a seat can be taken by either party. The Republicans determined not to miss this opportunity of making friends. They were determined not to alienate that mysterious quantity, "the suffrage vote." Their zeal for the amendment is beautiful. It wouldn't do for the Democrats to be behindhand. Why should the Devil have all the good tunes? Why should the wicked Republicans get all the advantage, if there is any advantage, in placating and charming "the suffrage vote?" The vote in the "suffrage states" is probably decided on the same grounds, as in non-suffrage states. Still, if there is any fact in the legend—and politicians are among the most credulous of men—the Democrats must be as ardent for suffrage as the Republicans. By such counsels was the Democratic strength evenly divided, giving 102 votes to the amendment. . . .

Keen-sighted Democrats saw the party's danger and opportunity. Objectors were pleaded with rather than reasoned with. Finally, and at the right moment, Mr. Wilson spoke. He gave up the position which he had repeatedly, and as The Times believes correctly, held, that suffrage is a state, not a federal, matter. He sacrificed what seemed to be a reasoned conviction to political expediency; to save his party from defeat in the congressional elections he disregarded its platform and his own belief that suffrage is a matter for state decision.—*New York Times, January 11.*



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Blucher Arrives

FOR suffrage and anti-suffrage alike, this is the night before Waterloo. But since 5 o'clock there has been little doubt among the Washington friends of suffrage that Blucher would arrive on time tomorrow. As a matter of fact, he arrived this afternoon in the person of the President of the United States. Representative Taylor, of Colorado, chairman of the House Steering Committee, and something like a dozen members of that committee called on the President at his office to discuss the Anthony amendment. . . . . When the meeting was over the President authorized Representative Taylor to make the following statement:

"The committee found that the President had not felt at liberty to volunteer his advice to members of Congress in this important matter, but when we sought his advice, he very frankly and earnestly advised us to vote for the amendment, as an act of right and justice to the women of the country and of the world."

In his informal talk with the committee the President said that in ordinary circumstances he would be in favor of following the declaration of the Democratic national platform regarding suffrage and leave the question to the legislatures of the various states to decide. But, he added, these are not ordinary times, and women are not doing ordinary work, either here or in almost any other country in the world. Any sincere advocate of suffrage, therefore, ought not to quibble over the manner in which the women shall get the vote. Therefore, said the President, he esteemed it a privilege and a duty to express himself as he had to the committee.

When the women here who have been working for the passage of the Anthony amendment for months heard this they metaphorically threw up their bonnets and also metaphorically shouted:

"There is nothing to it! We win in a walk!"

And so it seems. With the head of the nation and the leader of his party declaring unequivocally for the passage of the amendment, it would appear that nothing could stop it.—*New York Tribune, January 10.*

The Impelling Motive

THEY said of Cleveland in his day and generation—"We love him for the enemies he has made." A good many of us cannot honestly say that we love Mr. Wilson more for the friends he has made by his declaration in favor of the suffrage amendment, which undoubtedly owes its victory in the House yesterday to his powerful advocacy, which also carried it to victory in New York.

We are frankly sorry that the President could not hold the fort against the White House besiegers, but we know him too well to question his sincerity or to sympathize with the suggestion that while he was repulsing them at the front door he was flirting with them on the back stairs, and that he has openly engaged himself to them to keep them from eloping with the Republicans.

The truth is that while the reasons which the President assigns for his radical change of base and his surrender to those whom he formerly defied are far from convincing; they are typical of his characteristic inclination to readjust himself to a new environment and new situation. His strength in big things lies in his capacity to overrule his past decisions and to see things with new eyes. The chief impelling motive probably was the conviction that woman suffrage was bound to come and that, in view of the war and as an obstacle to harmony, it should be removed as quickly as possible from the field of discussion.—*Baltimore Sun, January 11.*

Forlorn Hope Revived

A YEAR ago suffrage was an utterly forlorn hope in Washington. It could muster a bare majority in the House, but that was all. Today it is on the edge of success, gaining fresh support daily. It will receive the necessary two-thirds vote in the House, it is now predicted. Its fate in the Senate depends largely upon the decision in the House. Opposition is plainly collapsing, and the only question, as its opponents concede, is how soon, whether this week or next, whether at the present session or the following, the requisite two-thirds vote will be recorded.—*New York Tribune, January 9.*

The Badge of Honor

WITH the suffragettes it is an honor to have served a prison term. The ones who served time were decorated by a "suff" with "prison pins," given as a badge of honor.—*Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News, December 12.*

Warning

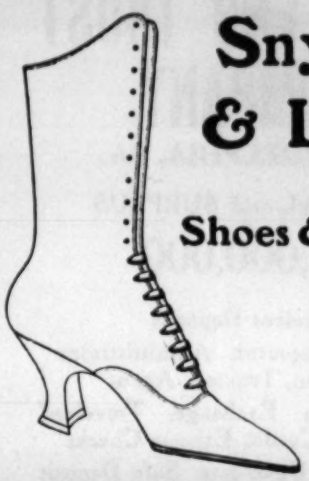
A VOTE against woman suffrage is a vote to destroy the Democratic Party.—*Washington —(D. C.) Times, January 10.*

No Wonder

WE'RE afraid the White House pickets aren't very repentant.—*Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier, January 11.*

Who Can Beat It?

WELL, somebody in Washington certainly does owe an apology to those picketers! —*New York Herald, January 11.*



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The Next Two Months

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With the amendment through the House every suffragist in the country must join the last struggle to send it through the Senate. Do your share in this final drive.

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